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Pacifist canon on CAUSES OF DISQUIET IN THE WEST

The Vienna Congress, organised by the World Peace Council of the Partisans of Peace, was in session when this Chrismas week issue of Peace News went to press.

THREE matters which "are causing grave disquiet among a large and growing section of public opinion in the West," were brought to the attention of the Vienna Congress by a Peace Pledge Union member, Canon C. F. Harman, who was present as representative of peace organisations in North and West Wiltshire.

These matters, he said, were:

"1. The cavalier dismissal by Mr. Vyshinsky of the Indian proposals for a truce in Korea has caused bewilderment and a sense of hopelessness. Would it be possible for this congress to urge certain concessions on this crucial issue in order to bring this frightful war to an end . . .?

"2. The retention of German prisoners (in Russia) is not calculated to foster friendly relations between Germany and Russia. I am only asking for a clarification of this burning issue. Could we have the reasons for their retention? What possibilities are there of their speedy repatriation?

"3. My Christian conscience revolts against the savage sentences imposed on political offenders in any county. A more peaceful approach to political and racial minorities would do much to allay bitterness and should bring about a reconciliation of opinion."

The 150-odd delegates who heard him gave him a generous round of applause when he had finished and when he mentioned Mr. Vyshinsky's "cavalier dismissal" of the Indian truce proposals and the retention by the Russians of German prisoners, reported the Manchester Guardian.

Tribute to Russian people

He paid earnest tribute to the Russian people's contribution to the world's cultural treasury:

"Some of us in the West can never imagine ourselves at war with a country whose nineteenth century and early twentieth century literary renaissance produced such writers as Khomiakov, Soloviev, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky."

"To allow any unresolved problem to plunge us into mass murder would be blasphemy and the grossest betrayal of the humanity which we all share," the Canon concluded (Daily Worker, Dec. 19).

(Hungarian Peace Congress—p.6.)

FULL-TIME STAFF OF 7 : 30 CADETS

Students rag War Office Director

A HIGH-RANKING official from the War Office, Major-General R. H. Bower, Director of Military Training, was ragged by students when he visited the Birmingham University to appeal for recruits to the Training Corps.

He was greeted with balloons, toilet paper and "warriors armed with broomsticks," according to the Birmingham Post.

The students' newspaper, Guild News, reports that the Major-General failed to get a hearing and "walked off the platform in disgust."

The University Training Corps has a membership of 30 and has attached to it a full-time staff of 7: Captain, Warrant Officer (REME), RSM, one army and one civilian clerk, a driver mechanic, and a civilian storesman.

Last week Peace News reported an official statement that the Military College of Science had one teacher for every student The War Office last week announced cuts in the number of inspections and official visits, also in use of cars. Officers must make more use of public transport services.

BACK FROM KOREA

LEWIS WADDILOVE, who with an American Quaker has been to Korea to investigate conditions for relief work, arrived at London Airport on Saturday.

He will be reporting his findings to the Executive of the Society of Friends, the Meeting for Sufferings, at their next meeting.

THE STRUGGLE IN AFRICA

'We can't advocate votes for Africans'

— S. African Labour Party

By Mary Willis and Moyra Caldecott

"VIOLENCE is failing and will fail. We must support the new way."

This call by Sybil Morrison, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, formed a fitting conclusion to the meeting held at the Conway Hall, London, on December 16, to draw attention to the situation in Africa.

The meeting was organised jointly by the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism (to which the PPU is affiliated), the Independent Labour Party and the South African Freedom League, and the six speakers included two Africans—Peter Abrahams, Johannesburg-born writer, and Rashed Gool, from the Cape Province, who is studying in this country and is a member of the Executive of the South African Freedom League.



IN THE WRONG WAITING ROOM
These Indian passive resisters are defying South Africa's apartheid laws by sitting in a "Europeans Only" waiting room at the Berea Road station, Durban. The police-sergeant is talking to Mr. Ashwin Choudhra who has a copy of the Gita, the Hindu scriptures, in his hand.

Fred Barton of the ILP, who recently returned from a visit to South Africa on behalf of his party, spoke first.

ECONOMIC PRIVILEGE

"To me the question of South Africa is very similar to the question of the working class in any country demanding its rights," he said. "It is not so much a question of colour and of race as a question of economic privilege that governs the policy of the white Herrenvolk that rule that land."

He emphasised that a change of government would not alter the situation, because all the parties were in agreement on the colour question, though they described their policy by different names, as became political parties.

He had met the National Executive of the South African Labour Party, and asked them what they were doing about getting votes for the non-Europeans. Their reply was that if they advocated that policy, they would lose their white votes, and since the white people were the only ones with votes, they might as well shut up shop.

The Trade Union movement was split—some unions would not hear of black members and others had separate branches for blacks and whites.

"South Africa is very touchy about the eyes of the world being turned upon her" said Fred Barton. Dr. Malan had modified his policy in response to the pressure of public opinion, since his government was returned. For example, he had been openly anti-Semitic, but he now had an Assistant Attorney General who was a Jew.

The country was in the midst of industrial development, it needed international capital, and the government realised that they would not get it if people thought that South Africa was a volcano which was likely to blow up.

Rashed Gool described vividly the contrast between the living conditions of the Europeans and the non-Europeans in South Africa—the modern hotels, beautiful beaches, and fine hospitals and flats reserved for the whites, and the slums, with no modern conveniences, in the native locations.

A SOURCE OF CHEAP LABOUR

"The African is to remain a source of raw material, a source of cheap labour, for the rest of his life," he exclaimed. "If he required skilled wages, the Europeans could no longer produce their gold, and the lovely South African oranges, at such a cheap price."

If the Europeans wanted to stay in Africa, they must stay on the basis of equal partnership with the Africans.

Peter Abrahams told the audience that it was wrong for people in this country to feel self-righteous about what was happening in South Africa, with the example of Kenya before them.

"First remove the beam from your own eyes and then remove the mote from the South Africans," he suggested.

The white men coming to Africa had brought ideas with them, but they could not keep these ideas to themselves. They could not say that thoughts, philosophies, Karl Marx, Keir Hardie were reserved for Europeans only.

BARRIERS ON THE HUMAN MIND

"Ideas walk, they have legs, and those ideas have been walking into the minds of little black boys. They have taken up these ideas, and a new transformation has taken place in South Africa.

"It is Malan who is the conservative barbarian, resisting change, and these black boys who carry the ideas of the future, who have history on their side.

"Today the campaign of defiance against unjust laws is an act of defiance against an attempt at putting barriers on the human mind.

"It is a very significant thing that a small handful of whites have suddenly seen the light, realised that they were barbarians, and that there was only one thing they could do, and that was to perform an act of self-liberation and identify themselves with this campaign of defiance of unjust laws.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WHITE RESISTERS

"On the face of it, it is nothing when a handful of people say 'We are going to side with the non-European,' but it has its deeper significance.

"I believe it would have been quite possible for the forces to be divided, with whites on one side and the blacks on the other out of this and you could have had a situation of racial hatred, with all whites becoming enemies and all blacks becoming allies.

A black oppression would be quite as vicious as a white one.

"What this handful of white people have done is to eliminate to some extent, by this personal act of identification, the possibility of this thing developing into a clear race-colour war. They have raised it to the level where it is a case of human beings who are for the ideals of freedom and progress, as against human beings who are opposed to those ideals."

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY IN KENYA

Returning to the question of Kenya, Peter Abrahams said "If you want to have any chance in Kenya at all, your colour bars must go completely, your land laws must be revised. These are things which you, the British electorate, are responsible for, and that is one way in which you can do something about the Union of South Africa, because ideas have legs, and they can walk from Kenya and from Central Africa right down into the Union of South Africa.

"There is your possibility of hope, but only those who have the courage to be hopeful, and to act hopefully, will achieve the aim of being true people. Are you the kind of internationalists you think you are? The answer is with you."

"LESS HOPEFUL" — BROCKWAY

Fenner Brockway, MP (Lab., Eton and Slough) left the Kenya debate at the House of Commons for a short time to speak at the meeting. He described conditions in Kenya in a speech which left the impression of tremendous urgency and perhaps despair.

Two years ago when he visited the colony, he had felt optimistic: although conditions were bad they were not irremediable. Now he was not so hopeful. Unless a really radical change came about in the minds and policies of the people whose responsibility it is, he could see nothing but race war for the future.

"What began as action against the Mau Mau terrorism was now action against the whole Kikuyu tribe. It would lead further than that. The whole of Africa from Cape Town to Casablanca was stirring.

Vera Brittain, who made an appeal for funds, stressed the world-wide implications of the situation in Africa, and said that, as a pacifist, it was of deep concern to her that the Africans in South Africa were using passive resistance to the unjust laws of the country. She felt we should give them every support.

Sybil Morrison compared the struggle for the rights of Africans with the struggle for women's rights in England. People used to say that if women were given the franchise, they would swamp the poll with their irresponsible voting. This had not been the case.

People today were bringing the same "argument" against giving the Africans the vote.

The African struggle and the use of passive resistance in South Africa were of vital consequence for the world. If the Africans attained their freedom by the pacifist method, and only by that method, a tremendous victory would have been won for the moral forces of the world. If they won it by violence, it would be just another incident of bloodshed in history that would bring immediate benefits but long-term disaster.

John McNair, of the ILP, presided.

CONFERENCE ON CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

To oppose Governn ent's draft federal scheme

TO make opposition to Central African Federation effective in this country a national conference on the subject has been convened for January 10, 1953.

It will be held in the Beaver Hall, Garlick Hill, London, E.C.4, and be addressed by Viscount Stansgate; John Dugdale, MP; Leslie Hale, MP; Fenner Brockway, MP; Bob Edwards, General Secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union, and the Rev. Dr. Marcus James of Christian Action as well as by African speakers.

The conference will open at 10.30 a.m. with a session on "What a Central African Federation would mean." Other sessions during the day are entitled "The African View" and "What can we do about it?"

Support for Africans

A resolution will be moved from the platform condemning proposals which do not command the whole-hearted support of the African people and which do not provide adequate democratic representation for them."

The motion declares that the present proposals conflict with the Declaration of Human Rights and calls for a united opposition to the present Federal Scheme.

The Government's scheme would establish a federal parliament for Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia consisting of 35 members of whom only six would be Africans; six million Africans would in practice be placed under the dominion of 170,000 Europeans.

All organisations are invited to send delegates, who will have ample opportunity to state their views. Delegates fees are 2s. per person or five delegates for 5s. Limited accommodation is available for observers at the same fee.

The Conference is being organised by the recently formed, non-party, Central Africa Committee, to whom delegate fees should be sent at 146, Fleet Street, E.C.4 (Chairman, Leslie Hale, MP; Joint Secretaries, Miss Peggy Cripps and Mrs. Rolene Szur).

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26th December, 1952

IDEALS AND FACTS

PERHAPS the full significance of Christmas cannot be realised apart from the strange sequence of the days which follow.

Christmas Day is hardly over before the Church is keeping the festival of the first martyr. The next day is the feast of St. John but that is followed by the commemoration of the tragic slaughter of the Innocents.

So "Glory to God" has hardly ceased to ring round the Heavens before we hear the people clamouring for the blood of Stephen, and the weeping of the mothers of Bethlehem breaks in upon thoughts about the gentle apostle of love.

A strange contrast which is in itself a challenge—a challenge which is within our own experience. On the one side our ideals—on the other hard facts.

This is true about what is most associated with Christmas. All want peace—as an ideal. The problem arises when we come against hard facts. Beautiful ideals and brutal facts. So-called visionaries dreaming of brotherhood and hard-hearted realists constructing atom bombs.

But was it different then? Angels singing of peace and goodwill; Rome conquering by war and Herod killing the children.

★

Is our traditional Christmas as a festival of beauty and peace with stories of angels and a star and wandering kings only a temporary escape into fairyland from the hard world we know?

If we regard it as such and fill Christmas with beautfiul ideals and leave out the brutal facts, the New Testament does not. True, Bethlehem on Christmas Eve is lovely but what about the few days later? True, God has come to his own, but his own receive him not, and the angels do not have it all their own way.

Christ is born a refugee, who has a narrow escape at Bethlehem where, in addition to shepherds and kings, Herod also seeks him—that brutal force which never wants Christ to grow up and tries to kill as a babe.

Herod represents the hard facts. Yes—but so does Christ.

Yet, see how we deceive ourselves by words. We call something grim a hard fact, but we speak of what is beautiful as an ideal—and trick ourselves, because the word fact sounds so solid and the word ideal so remote. Thus we come to identify the low and ugly with the substantial, and the high and lovely with the unattainable. But the basic fact of Christmas is that all that takes shape in Christ was and is a fact. In a world of other facts, Truth and Love are facts—and the greatest. We do not have to seek a temporary escape from truth into fairy stories or to meet hard facts with unsubstantial dreams.

We face two sets of facts—both very real—the one in conflict with the other. The question is on which set of facts are we relying?

Faith in God means betting your life on the fact of Christ against the fact of Herod, for there is no matyrdom where there is compromise.

Herod would not have minded if Christ had remained a baby but he could not afford to let him grow up. True, the son of this Herod who tried to catch Christ young, has a hand in his crucifixion, but he fails there also, as those who are ready to kill must always fail in the face of those who are prepared to die.

It is always too late to kill an ideal when men are ready to die for it.

Christ is the realist and the ideal is the possibility which God sees in the facts. Because Christmas is a fact, there is something at the heart of the universe which is on our side if we are prepared to let Christ grow up.

How often is the phrase used "You will grow out of that"? Or "I used to think like that until . . ." "I am a pacifist at heart but what about Hitler or Stalin?"

Many people delight to sentimentalise over the Babe in the manger, so long as they are not asked to take Christ seriously; to acknowledge the meaning of the Bethlehem of Christmas Eve until they are faced with the Bethlehem of Innocents Day.

The challenge of Christmas and its sequence is whether we are prepared to give Christ his chance to grow up and walk the common ways of life and teach men how to live at peace with one another.

If, over against hatred, we would give goodwill the chance to work its wonders, peace would be born. If in the face of violence, we would give our love to all who need it, as God does, all evils would go.

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added unto you." Or, in other words, realise the Fatherhood of God in and through the brotherhood of man, help to build a world in which all men have justice and freedom, in which truth and not might is the test of right, and love, not violence the symbol of power, and you will inevitably find that you have realised Peace.

The Settlers

"IN Tunisia, as in the rest of French North Africa," says the Times, "it is the fate of the French settlers that bedevils all discussion about future progress."

This factor may bear with particular heaviness in relation to French North Africa because it happens that the settlers in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia can bring pressure to bear on the French Government when it is in difficulties arising from home problems or wider issues of foreign policy.

It is not only in the French colonial areas, however, that plans for progress are bedevilled by the interests of the settlers. This factor is operative throughout almost the whole of Africa.

Immediately Sir Evelyn Baring comes to England to discuss Kenya policy a cry goes up in Nairobi that decisions affecting Kenya should be taken in Kenya and not in Whitehall—should be taken that is to say by the white inhabitants of Kenya; and it is reported that the announcement of a policy of positive reform at the earliest opportunity would be opposed by many of the white settlers.

It would be a sign of "appeasement" which is coming to signify any kind of action which breaks the chain of returning evil for evil.

The Labour Party in this country has made a declaration on the Kenya situation which points one line of advance.

It recommends that:

"Available land should be offered to any Kenya Africans who have adequate agricultural experience, who are prepared to form themselves into small co-operative units of an efficient size and to accept for a time some degree of guidance. Financial backing, with the land as security, should be made available."

Having said this, however, the Labour Party thinks the best thing it can do is to lecture the African natives on their lack of productivity. That they should produce more on the land that they have is the remedy for their ills, and not the casting of dissatisfied eyes on the great areas of land in the hands of thirty thousand whites.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Labour needs a Colonial Policy

The Labour Party ought to be thinking seriously about the problems to be dealt with in Africa.

If all these problems and many more are not transformed under the steam roller of World War III it is highly likely that should the Labour Party come to take office again its main problems will arise from the increasing turmoil in Africa; and when it deals with these problems it will inevitably find the greatest obstacle to advance will be the views taken by the settlers as to their own interests.

Now the settlers are a mixed body of people. They have many virtues, but not many of them went to Kenya with any idea of benefiting the native population, and it is not likely that many of them have any very great enthusiasm for the aims of the Labour Party.

Just as a succession of French governments have found trouble from the resistance of their white settlers, just as Sir Godfrey Huggins is repeatedly embarrassed in his advocacy of Central African Federation by his need to placate the white diehards behind him, and as even the present Tory government seems likely to find in Kenya as much difficulty with white obstinacy as with the operations of Mau Mau, so will a future Labour government be confronted with similar difficulties.

May not the only way to prevent the African situation from breaking down in chaos be to eliminate the interests of the white settler? We feel that in regard to the Kenya problem the Labour Party should be thinking in terms of buying out the interests of the white settlers, and providing for the administration of the land clearly and directly with a view to the welfare of the native population.

The cost involved would not be enormous, and an experiment of this kind would have a beneficent effect not only in Kenya, but also throughout Africa.

Incidentally not all the white men who are working the land are owners; in some cases they are merely agents for absentee landlords, and these might very well be happier working for the clearly formulated aims of an administration aimed at native welfare than they are at present.

Tragedy of the Kenya Schools

ONE of the most distressing incidents in the struggle between African nationalists' aspirations in Kenya and the settlers' government is the closing of most of the independent native schools.

There are two groups of such schools, one of which has been ready to receive grants-in-aid from the Government and is likely to have been free from any tendency to foster nationalist aspirations.

The other group of schools has come into being because of aspirations towards African independence and has doubtless therefore taught history, for instance, with a decided nationalist bias.

It is, of course, not impossible to detect a nationalist bias in the history teaching in the schools of most European countries.

Most of these African schools have now been closed. The press does not show any great eagerness to obtain information as to what has happened and it is possible that all those in the Kenya Independent Schools Association have been closed. We understand that the number of children involved is 21,000.

The building up of schools of this kind is just the type of native activity that a genuine partnership would foster.

The supply of teachers has depended on the Kenya Teachers' College at Githunguri. This had been closed with the schools.

Reginald Reynolds has written to the Quaker weekly, The Friend, to recall the attempts made by Mbiyu Koinange, who founded the College, to find European teachers (expressing a preference for Quakers) who would be ready to help with the schools.

In closing these schools those responsible expect us to assume that they have been responsible for the fostering of Mau Mau doctrine. Reginald Reynolds' recollections of Koinange's approaches makes this highly improbable.

What is much more likely is that the settlers' government has used the opportunity provided by the present troubles to put an end to an enterprise that was likely to foster independent minds among the natives.

The self-sacrificing work of some of the best Africans will have been destroyed. It is surely a moving tragedy.

A new chapter in South Africa

By TOM WARDLE

The writer, who has recently returned from South Africa, has been working with Manilal Gandhi in Natal as a member of the staff of Indian Opinion, the paper founded by Mahatma Gandhi when he lived in S. Africa. Tom Wardle is now working with the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

THE entry of white people into the non-violent resistance movement in South Africa means a great deal.

It means that far from being merely a campaign for self-liberation prompted by partisan motives on the part of non-Europeans alone, the struggle has now become broader, deeper, of infinitely greater significance.

It is no longer a contesting against, a breaking down of what is wrong; it is a building up, an affirming of essential human unity.

Noble as the Defiance Campaign had been in its choice of the method of non-violence, it is nobler still now. The last move necessary to establish the universal importance and high purpose of this movement has been made. We are witnessing the beginning of something historic.

I was in a good position to know the origins of the Defiance Campaign. The African National Congress and Indian National Congress have for years been largely controlled by Communists or fellow-travellers.

The whole technique of organisation of the Campaign in its initial stages revealed Communist planning. The idea was that non-European solidarity should be developed by means of the defiance of generally-deplored discriminations. When solidarity had reached a certain point, the resisters would become more daring—the police would reply with violence, or the resisters themselves would employ it— several would be killed, resentment would grow and solidarity would broaden yet again.

This process would be repeated until eventually that level of cohesion and determination would be reached which would make it possible for the Communist backroom boys to organise their master-stroke — a general stoppage of work. Once get non-Europeans as a whole to down tools for *a week* and the South African economy would be paralysed.

But the risks are high—the police can be utterly merciless against striking Africans, and without a week' pay many black people would starve.

It was hoped to screw the non-white people to this pitch by the accumulated hatreds of a long and bitter campaign.

Manilal Gandhi's attitude

Manilal Gandhi, with whom I stayed until three months ago, refused at that time to have anything to do with the Defiance Campaign, well knowing from his previous treatment at the hands of Congress bosses the nature of their attitudes and plans.

He was insistent, as his father, that it was not enough merely to exhibit non-violence, it had to be truly felt.

"Our task is to love Malan and all the white people" he would say; "it is not enough to have no hatred in your hands, we must have no hatred in our hearts also."

It was from Port Elizabeth that we received our first great surprise.

There, we learned, Christian African ministers were directing the campaign. It was the practice of groups there to kneel and pray in the streets before going to their act of defiance and then to depart singing hymns.

The very anthem 'N'Kosi Sikelele Afrika' which the resisters sang was a spiritual song—"Come Great Spirit over our Land—God Bless Africa"

It was extraordinary, but it was true. Africans — Xosas, Sesutos, Zulus many of whom could not read or write, almost certainly all of whom had never heard of Gandhi or Tolstoy or Thoreau—began naturally and spontaneously to employ the time honoured means of gentle men to remedy hard wrongs.

From out of their own history and traditions and experience of life it seems, they drew the courage and the inspiration for their task. And it seemed also that the Christians among them were giving life to an understanding of the Christian message which put their white brethren to shame

Non-violence exalts men

The Communists and their friends had started more than they bargained for. They had intended (as I know from frank discussions with more than one of them) that the method of non-violence should be used merely as an expedient — "there isn't any other method we can use, until we are in a position to strike, or we can get arms and that takes time."

Now people were beginning to *believe* in non-violence. It is not surprising really. It is reasonable to expect that non-violence will exalt men if it can combine courage with a refusal to let hate have a place.

Reports of the support of Christians and Hindus in other centres began to come in. I was obliged to return to England at about that time. Shortly after my return I heard from Manilal Gandhi.

He was astonished, he wrote, at the way the campaign was going. It exceeded all his expectations—the discipline, the tenderness of the African resisters was beyond praise. In a short while, he said, he would throw in himself too. But there was still the nagging question—are there no white men to prove our point? We say "Do not hate the white men because they are our brothers; do not harm them because they are not aware of their wrong-doing; by our example we shall win them to our cause." But it rings a bit hollow if there is not *one* white man to come out with us.

Now it has happened. The offence which those white people have committed is not a light one. It may mean imprisonment for many months. Whatever interests in business and private life those people have, will suffer heavily from their stand.

But it is an action to make us thrill with pride.

These lonely folk sitting in the bare cells of a South African prison are helping to redeem the awful name of our people in Africa, and indeed in all the world where we have practised tyranny and shame. And the son of the Mahatma has joined them. Africa shall yet be free.

Overheard in a bus

THIS conversation was overheard in a bus at the Elephant and Castle, London:

Girl (aged four) to aather (pointing to ruins of Spurgeon's Tabernacle): What is that?

Father: Oh! That's a bombed Synagogue—or Tabernacle.

Girl: Who did it?

Father: Some men in aeroplanes dropped bombs.

Girl: Were you there?

Father: No.

Girl: Didn't they like it?

Father: No.

Girl: Why didn't they like it?

Father: Oo! Look at that horse and cart!

RING HAPPY BELLS ACROSS THE SNOW

I HOPE that you have all had a very happy Christmas. I cannot give the final figures for the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters' Fund for 1952 yet, partly because this issue of Peace News has to go to press extra early, and partly because we always keep open our books for a few days after December 31, in order to give members and friends a last chance to make our income for the year as large as possible.

But I can tell you that we have reached £958 0s. 0d. and have been able to ask for the additional £100 to bring us over the £1,000.

I know that you would wish me to say a special "Thank you" to our two anonymous friends whose challenge stimulated us all to make a special effort and whose gifts crown the year with this success. But I and they would also want to thank the very many others who by real sacrifice and saving have made it possible for us to claim their promises.

If there are any readers who have been too busy to send anything during these last few days, who would like to share a Christmas gift with Headquarters Fund or to express their gratitude for 1952 and their hopes for 1953 in a tangible form, please remember that there is still time to catch the post! Help us to reach an all-time record.

I do hope that 1953 will bring you all nearer to the realisation of all that is best for you and, indeed, the whole world.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amont received up to Dec. 19: £958
Our aim for 1952 £1,000

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Yet the person survives

By JOHN VINCENT

Towards Fidelity, by Hugh I'a Fauset. Gollancz 15s.

THE publishers in no way exaggerate when they describe this book as "a philosophy, beautifully and movingly written."

The book is a summing up of the author's philosophy of life, an attempt to define and express his faith in something greater than man. It is also a sequel to another book, *A Modern Prelude*, written twenty years earlier.

With the first breath which we draw, there begins the quest for harmony in a world of apparent obstacles. We are enclosed in a body which, although essentially innocent, quickly reflects the desires and defects of the world around us. This becomes clearer as we grow.

Why need this growth involve tension and conflict? This is the question which the book attempts to answer, and many of those who read it will feel that the attempt is to a high degree successful.

★

It is difficult to do justice to the book without extensive quotation from it. One or two paragraphs will perhaps give an insight into the author's outlook.

Yet there is enough apparently gratuitous cruelty in the animal world to suggest that the fall into division first manifests on the borderline where consciousness in animal and man begins to emerge from blind instinct.

The evidence collected by archaeologist and paleontologist during the last seventy years seems to show that it occurred outwardly, at least in the cycle of human evolution of which we have knowledge, when man broke away from the life of the great apes, those harmless arboreal vegetarians, with whom he was most closely linked in the scale of evolution, and relapsed to the life of the carnivores.

It has even been persuasively argued that the association between man and fruit-bearing trees, inherited from his anthropoid ancestors, was for all but six or seven thousand out of a million years of human existence the growing point in a cultural development that was peaceful and co-operative: that with the domestication of animals, their slaughter for meat and the cult of blood sacrifice, the corruption, not only of man, but of husbandry, really began, to be followed by organised warfare, the mass attack of group upon group with lethal weapons.

In the second part of the book, Mr. I'a Fausset has many wise and discerning things to say about the Christian faith. In the third the author deals with pain, "the alien invader," and the way in which pain can be transmuted into suffering, which is a quite different thing.

★

Mr. I'a Fausset devotes several pages to a description of the baneful influence of modern mechanical invention. Modern machinery is not the equivalent of the craftsman's tool. The plough, the scythe, the potter's wheel were designed to enable a man to use his hands, feet, mind, heart, and imagination. This was not merely a means to an end, but was the end itself. Modern machinery is designed solely to increase output.

The craftsman, the countryman, have always known this . . . but the inventors and exploiters of the modern machine have for the most part reflected an exactly opposite attitude, an insensitiveness to the medium of life in which and with which they are called to work.

This irreligious attitude has spread from things to people, until they too have become cyphers. Yet the person victoriously survives.

He can be obscured or stifled, reduced to apathy, or plunged in gloom. He can be insulted and humiliated, tempted by the powers of this world, betrayed by them and crucified. But he lives on, through all the falsity of mass-generated feeling or opinion, the sterile monotony of the conveyor belt, the drugged twilight of the cinema, the horror of the falling bomb. We have only to look another fellow-being in the eye to know that he is there, imperishable, untarnished, unique, waiting only to be recognised and received. . . .

This is a profound and valuable book. The author has discovered a new and almost timeless world, a world in which the clock and the calendar count for very little. His observation of life is as deep as that of Ecclesiastes, but the answer which he finally gives is a different one. "Towards Fidelity" is not a book which can be lightly read and assimilated. Some parts of it will have to be read and re-read before their significance can be fully grasped. Yet the book is a good companion to have, and its influence upon many of those who read it will be great.

THE "THIRD MAN" DELUSION

Can a barbarian method save any civilisation?

The article which follows is a reply to one by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, the well-known American foreign correspondent, published in the Saturday Review (New York) under the title of "The Third Man."

In it, Mr. Mowrer classified men into three types. Type One, he said, is the tough, warlike individual who dominated barbarian societies. He will fight and die for his country—or for power, pleasure or plunder — without reluctance or remorse.

Type Two he described as "a fellow who, for a variety of reasons, noble or ignoble, will no longer fight—who puts private ease and comfort above national security. Mr. Mowrer argued that this type is becoming dangerously common, and that if civilisation is to survive the attacks of Type One, Type Two must be superseded by a Third Man.

The Third Man is the fighter with a vision—the type of Abraham Lincoln, Sir Galahad and, in the East, Arjuna of the Bhagavad Gita. Arjuna was puzzled how to reconcile the defence of his country with the Hindu teaching of non-violence, and the god Krishna told him to "fight, but without hatred or personal responsibility." As present-day examples, Mr. Mowrer suggested Eisenhower, who "manages both to command our greatest armies and to hate war as much as any pacifist," or an epidemiologist who fights bacilli systematically, relentlessly, not because he hates them, but in the name of a higher life.

THE story "The Third Man," written by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, an experienced reporter, who is constantly confronted with public opinion and what is called the common sense of the average man, has presented an attractive and sensible plea for a general.

A general must be a civilised barbarian, a convenient or expedient cross-cut between a cave man and whatever Mr. Mowrer calls a cultured man. He designates him "The Third Man."

This "Third Man" must be a clever and adroit compromise between barbarism and gentleness because he must learn how to feed the wolf and preserve the goat.

How strange that Mowrer does not realise this "Third Man" was the Prussian or French general in the Europe of yesterday and is the modern general in any country today.

When Russian generals invaded Europe in World War II, they, too, were meticulous about their social behaviour personally and individually, anxious to meet the standards of civilised society.

And what was the meaning of the role which the Teutons for centuries had adopted for themselves toward their eastern Slavonic neighbours when they called themselves "Kulturträngers" in their "Drang nach Osten?" Were not these Teutons already "civilised" by the Romans, and did they not actually play the role of "The Third Man?"

And today, are not the Russians most earnestly, in their own opinion, playing this role? In their propaganda they appropriate for themselves a zealous civilising role in relation to the so-called "decadent western society." The methods they use are only those of Mowrer's "Third Man."

In other words, Mowrer's "Third Man" is only a delusion. He is the "First Man" in a garb of various degrees of attraction. He is "Type One Man," as Mowrer describes him, with a strong sense of tribalism and native aggressivity who kills readily without reluctance or remorse. Yes, the row of medals which the modern sovereign state pins on his chest testifies to this fact.

If, in so-called peace time, he retires into a civilised home, then I may describe him in Aldous Huxley's words:

"Submissive to the wife, kind to the children, courteous to the neighbours, the good citizen feels a thrill of delight when his country 'takes a strong line,' 'enhances its prestige,' 'scores a diplomatic victory,' 'increases its territory'—in other words, when it bluffs, bullies, swindles and steals. The nation is a strange diety. It imposes difficult duties and demands the greatest sacrifices and, because it does this and because human beings have a hunger and thirst after righteousness, it is loved. But it is also loved because it panders to the lowest elements in human nature and because men and women like to have excuses to feel pride and hatred, because they long to taste even at second hand the joys of criminality."

This is, indeed, an excellent description of Mowrer's "Third Man." It is Dr. Jekyll concealing Mr. Hyde. When the time comes for the necessary "re-brutalisation" (using Mowrer's expression), Dr. Jekyll from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs changes into Mr. Hyde, and emerging at the Ministry of War, pushes the button and bang, another war to save civilisation is started.

Yet, what is most tragic, Mowrer tries to present "Type Three Man" as a virtuous genius to whom "mature" civilisation should look for its own salvation.

Glory to the "third man general" who "regretfully though remorselessly" braves the dropping of an A-bomb. How fantastic!

Mowrer may have been so busy reporting from the fronts of the two world wars, mixing with those reasonable generals who always mean to protect the gentle folks back home, that he did not learn this simple lesson—Wars solve no problems; they create only an illusion of solution.

Mowrer indicates in one place that one hundred years ago, when tough people lived in the western world, the generals in colonial campaigns (were they British?) would gladly have used any A- or H-bombs "with hardly more qualms of conscience than would Communists today." Mowrer seems to regret the existing reluctance and subtly pleads for this "strong line" in order to save civilisation.

A reply to Edgar Ansel Mowrer

by Karel Hujer

Professor of Astronomy and Physics at the University of Chattanooga, Tennessee, USA.

Let us ask the question: Can a barbarian method save any civilisation?

We read a self-righteous statement: "The United States is threatened from the outside by a powerful coalition of warlike barbarians. Why hesitate to meet them on their own ground?"

Even in my brief lifetime I have heard this same phrase in every country on the eve of war. At the same time, it is the oldest temptation that has confronted "civilised" man: Destroy the barbarian by any means and settle down calmly and peacefully into the garden of your culture.

That is precisely what Spaniards, French, Germans, British, Americans, each in turn have done and were proud of it.

I agree with Mowrer concerning the "Type Two Man" (there are so many of them), living in comfort provided by the gadgets of our technical civilisation, anxious to perpetuate the good time, enjoying all the conveniences of mechanical robots and letting someone else do the fighting.

Yet prosperity in a starving world is just as untenable as it is impossible to sit on the point of bayonets. Or is there a Mowrer's "Third Man" who can accomplish this?

Even if we feel we have worked hard, any prosperity which has entered our lives is **not ours, is not our right, but is only a trust**, requiring the spirit of renunciation, purity of thought and perpetual vigilance through the discipline of prayer.

By this time you will ask: What, then, do you propose for the salvation of civilisation? First of all, what we agree to call civilisation—culture, that kindly light of gentleness, compassion and understanding—was never brought into being either by Mowrer's Type One or Type Two Man.

As indicated before, there is no Type Three Man to save civilisation since the compromise the Type Three Man represents reverts back to Type One—the ruthless barbarian. At no instance does Mowrer indicate how or where cherished culture started, nor what the incentive was that brought the kindly light into being on this earth. He is only intent on pointing out that even the Bhagavad Gita justifies the use of force despite the fact that it was this same jewel of ancient wisdom which inspired Gandhi to non-violence.

The gentle culture of forgiveness, compassion and love cannot be, and is not, rooted in brute force, seated in the lower self and the animal passions. It is only rooted in complete selflessness.

Mowrer says that any increase in essential pacifism magnifies the danger of destruction of our civilisation. I heartily agree with him at this very point because "the pacifist" he refers to is his Type Two Man.

Mowrer apparently does not know who is the true devotee of peace and goodwill. It is not his "pacifist" who enjoys the benefits of "civilisation" acquired by force, built up by the methods of the Type One man.

The man of peace

The true devotee is an individual of courage beyond all comprehension. He is a man of complete detachment and renunciation.

He is an utterly uncompromising sage in whose defenceless, bare hands rests the future of humanity. The purity of his thoughts, the bravery of living to the last letter of the divine law, makes him eternal. For our age we have an archaic name for him—he is a saint. He is timeless.

The saint carries the law within himself. While he is one he is many. Yet **he is not a mass phenomenon.** Neither can he be or will he be organised. He is the Bergsonian solitary upsurge of light which like the cosmic Nova blazes on the world scene in order to re-assert the eternity of divine law through his supreme example of utter unselfishness, renunciation and compassion. He represents the birth of kindly light in the humblest of conditions. **Thus, the true culture will be upheld, advanced and sanctified by exactly the same mears by which it came into being—through the heart and soul of a saint.**

Under no conditions can true culture be sustained by any general. Its price is supreme for it demands only the supreme sacrifice—a complete renunciation of whatever this world offers.

More probably the saint lives in starvation than in prosperity. His body may have perished in a European concentration camp, or may be perishing in some labour camp in Siberia rather than thriving in security on one of the Main Streets of America. He may live quietly, peacefully, in deep compassion and love under the worst tyranny the world has ever seen because his place is right there—with suffering humanity.

Of course, he will never have an army and only a few will listen to him, because there is no secular state which will tolerate his message. Yet, he will have—wherever he is—boundless freedom to live to the last letter of the divine law. That is most important and that only will save our or any true civilisation.

JOHN WOOLMAN

By Perey Redfern

JOHN WOOLMAN, the 18th-century American Quaker saint is best known for his stand against negro slavery. First he protested against writing a bill of sale conveying a slave and then under strees of conscience he refused altogether.

This happened during Woolman's early manhood, in 1743. Fourteen years later, in 1757, the Seven Years War crossed the Atlantic to Woolman's home state of New Jersey.

France, Austria and Russia had combined in a league of fear against a resurgent Prussia. Britain and her colonies assisted Prussia against France.

The conflict has been described as "the first world war." Certainly the records of 1914-18 show parallels of folly and misery.

While France also fought against Clive in India, a French expedition besieged a British fort in the "New York Government." To assist the Britannic troops, Woolman's neighbours were drafted.

John Woolman noted in his journal that some of the prospective soldiers "appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars." These men told the commanding officer that "they could not bear arms for conscience sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned to the event of it."

However, the French, having taken and destroyed the fort (which evidently had seemed to them merely a menace) were content to march away; while the British commander got out of his difficulty by postponing the call on the objectors; and no second draft was made.

Next year a milder demand arose. Woolman and others were required to billet fresh soldiers.

The Quaker was exercised in his mind. Could he refuse hospitality to any? On the other hand was he to fall in with the system by taking pay?

Eventually only one soldier was allotted to him. And Woolman refused pay. And when the officer seemed to regard this non-acceptance as meant to help the military, Woolman, after consideration, went after him "and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for the soldier."

John Woolman was fully a pacifist also in his dealings with American Indians—but that is another story.

TRIOLET

"America—Rockets are all the rage . . . The Americans have gone for the Rocket with bobby-sox abandon. It's the romantic weapon of the American era."
—*Picture Post. November 19, 1952.*

The guided missile, 'tis Romance
To modern youth it seems.
If it should kill, by some mischance,
The guided missile — ? 'Tis Romance
To bobby-soxers; doth enhance
Their adolescent dreams.
The guided missile, 'tis Romance
To modern youth, it seems!

PHYLLIS VALLANCE

Scots gave most for peace

THE Northern Friends' Peace Board is perhaps best known among pacifists for its striking peace posters, boldly printed in red and black.

That these fill a need in the peace movement is shown by the fact that they were used exclusively to decorate the Kingsway Hall at the Methodist Peace Fellowship's recent public meeting, and that they attract attention is shown by a recent letter in the Manchester Guardian criticising one which is displayed in Manchester, with a quotation from Thomas à Kempis.

Some of the Board's other activities are described in its Annual Report, which has just been published. Many meetings were arranged last autumn and winter to enable the general public to hear the Quakers who had visited Russia, and a conference on conscription is held each year for boys between the ages of 16 and 18. Next year girls are also to be invited.

A number of pamphlets are published, the latest of which is a 4-page folder urging the need for a war on want, instead of rearmament.*

The Board is concerned with the spread of the Quaker peace testimony in the North of England and Scotland, and in view of the reputed meanness of the Scots, it is interesting to learn that Scottish Quakers contributed an average of 3s. 4d. a head to its funds last year, as against an average of from 1s. to 2s. 9d. for members of the Northern Quarterly Meetings.

M.H.W.

* *"£5,000 Million of our money to preserve liberty," 11d. doz. from the NFPB, Clifford Street, York.*

TU branches should buy them

"NEGOTIATION is settling differences by agreement — 'Negotiation from strength' is the method of the bandit."

This is the forthright message carried by the latest Quaker peace poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (6d. post free from Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York).

"I would like to suggest to Trade Union branches," writes "Union Member," "that they subscribe annually for these posters—six are issued for 3s. each year—and make arrangement for their display in their locality."

DISCONTINUE GERM WARFARE RESEARCH

—NPC

"THE National Peace Council calls upon Her Majesty's Government and all other sovereign governments simultaneously to discontinue their germ warfare research and experiments."

The above resolution was one of two passed at a recent meeting of the National Peace Council.

The other, which deals with Central African Federation, expresses the belief that the present proposals are unacceptable to the majority of the peoples in the territories concerned, and urges the Government to delay ratification, and endeavour to secure African participation in discussions to consider such constitutional reforms as would merit the full confidence of the peoples concerned.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET "PEACE BOOKS" PUBLISHED

Authors discuss "The mental climate in which we live"

IN opening the discussion on 'The mental climate in which we ive," at the recent conference of the Authors' World Peace Appeal, **Naomi Mitchison** said that in considering mental climate two things had to be borne in mind: the meaning of words, and the framework.

Speaking on the meaning of words she pointed out that an idea that may be expressed by one word or one idiom in one language may not have a parallel translation in another.

The word "peace," for instance, conveyed to many people a picture of children, new crops growing, and bird song. To some in all countries it meant merely the absence of warfare, while carrying on one's own way of life. To a considerable section in this country it meant active good-will; to a considerable section in Russia it meant brotherhood.

It was difficult, but essential, that in relations with other countries we made sure that the idea we were trying to express was the one which the other side received.

"Elizabethan Age" in Pakistan

She emphassised that the mental climate within a given framework might vary according to the century, and political conditions. For example she thought that the mental climate of Pakistan was similar to that of Great Britain in the Elizabethan age.

Speaking of the mental climate within the Russian framework she said that it differed greatly in some ways from our own.

For example the Russians said that our novels were not sufficiently in touch with ordinary people; yet the British novels of which the Russians approved did not have a popular appeal in this country. Again, a cartoon in this country, however unflattering, was generally regarded as a compliment; in Russia it was an insult.

In our relation with other countries we must go one better than the Golden Rule, she said.

"We must do unto others as we imagine they would wish to be done by. What is needed is not merely good will, but imaginative good will, and if any body of people can do this, it should be the writers.

Three good films

Montagu Slater said that he would speak not on mental climate so much as on mental weather: for mental weather was subject to quick changes which could be deliberately created.

The cult of violence had been prominent in our films and in our literature, and now we were finding it in life. Flogging, the violent answer, was being advocated as the only language that those who used violence could understand.

"But there are already signs of a counter-attack going on" he said "consider the films made in this country during the last couple of years: 'Mandy,' 'Cry the Beloved Country,' 'The Gentle Gunman.' Attention is focused not on violence but on the courage of human beings and the human will to conquer fear.

It was, he said as though we had approached to the edge of the precipice, had began to see over it, and had pulled back almost in horror.

He felt there was an audience ready and waiting for something else. "What is it that we people can give it?" he asked. "I am asking for a deepening of our thinking, a new atmosphere, which we may call a moral atmosphere, a change in the moral weather. And when we get that, I suspect that we shall find it easier to write better."

Insidious propaganda

In the discussion that followed several members spoke of the difficulty of overcoming the clever insidious propaganda of the Radio, Press and Foreign Office and of the difficulty, especially for an unknown writer, of getting a "peace book" published.

On the other hand it was pointed out that good books which "showed the world to the world," such as Dr. Comfort's "The Giants Strength" stood a fair chance of acceptance.

One speaker expressed the hope that the Medical Association for the Prevention of War and the A.W.P.A. should work in close co-operation, while another, describing the mental climate as a breakdown in sanity, drew the attention of the meeting to the work of the World Federation for Mental Health.

They wrote novels about COs

From JIM PECK

THREE authors who have given roles in their novels to conscientious objectors discussed their respective views on pacifism at a symposium on November 20 conducted by the New York branch of the War resisters' League.

First speaker, Irwin Stark, read brief excerpts from "The Invisible Island," his novel about a school teacher in Harlem who is unwittingly involved in the prevailing atmosphere of violence and hate and about a young Negro boy who is the victim thereof. Another character in the book is a doctor whose younger son goes to jail as a CO, a position with which he sympathises, and whose older son goes into the army.

Stark says he is a pacifist—more so now than 20 years ago—because "I believe in the primacy of intelligence and the sacredness of life." He termed war: "the abdication of man's status as man." Pacifists should function as such in their professions and vocation, he said, adding that he, as a teacher at City College in New York City, is attempting to accomplish this. Regarding pacifism, he concludes: "As a force in the world, it is insignificant: as an idea, it is inescapable."

Next, Jeb Stuart told how he became a CO, then became a combat soldier and finally changed his position again. He is author of "The Objector," a book about a man who did non-combatant duty in a medical corps in World War II and who finally got killed in a rescue mission.

Former machine-gunner

Stuart told of how he first became a CO because there were so many military men in his family. He started out in world war II as a non-combatant.

Then he became a machine-gunner "because I thought pacifism was ineffective against Nazism and because I wanted to fight Nazism. I discovered actually that we weren't fighting Nazism."

At that point he altered his stand. He thinks that war will be eliminated eventually when the people reach mental maturity. A most important objective, he believes is the attainment of socialism—but even if such a system is established and people have not yet reached a state of mental maturity, there will still be war. He also favours world government.

Donad Wetzel, then told his views, asserting that he was a CO in the last war and would be in another war, if it breaks out. As demonstrated in "A Wreath and A Curse," his allegorical novel about the evils of war; "All of us are guilty: no one is free of responsibility. We care—but don't care enough." Wetzel's latest novel is "The Age of Light."

Characterising the H-bomb as "suicidal" and "utter insanity," he stated that the position of refusal to go to war is "increasingly valid" and "a sane, constructive gesture."

He pointed out that while the ranks f COs are small, there were more in World War II than in World War I and there would be "numerically more refusing to fight in World War III."

He believes that working toward world government and strengthening the United Nations are two ways of helping to eliminate war. "Man must renounce war totally if he is to survive," Wetzel concluded.

WAY OUT WEST . . .

Pacifists active in Oregon, USA

SIXTY pacifists attended the Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference at Salem, Oregon, U.S.A. on October 10—12.

They heard some plain speaking from K. K. Chandy, General Secretary of the FoR in India.

"The ratio of population to the square mile is 176 in Asia," he said, "296 in India, 316 in Japan, 4 in North America, and 3 in Australia and New Zealand.

"Unless there is a change of attitude regarding property, including the right of people to monopolise the land in which they live and unless there is a change in immigration laws and an economic replanning to meet the needs of the world, it seems impossible to meet the challenge of Communism.

"The Soviet Union can truthfully claim notable achievements in social services, housing, improved standards of living and increased literacy. In no other country has equality of women with men or equality of races been achieved so completely. But these achievements have been at the expense of things which the person who respects human personality dreads to accept."

A discussion of "Conformity and Reconciliation," with special reference to loyalty oaths occupied one of the sessions of the conference.

"Jap" protest succeeds.

Other highlights of recent activities in Oregon are:

A youth meeting attended by 250 people, mostly Willamette University students.

Seven meetings in outlying areas: two to audiences numbering 175 and 200 respectively.

Fifteen minute broadcast by pacifists.

Successful protest to local newspaper, The Oregonian, against the use of the World War II epithet "Jap" in headlines. Editor replied to Mrs. Wilfred Pearson: "Your observation on use of the word 'Jap' in headlines is valid. Its use is not sanctioned by this newpaper and strict orders have been issued not to repeat it. Thank you."

Pacifist professor of sociology at Oregon State College, Robert Dann has contributed a paper on "Capital Punishment in Oregon" to Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the current volume of which is entitled "Murder and the Death Penalty."

BISHOP BEAT SWORD INTO PLOUGHSHARE

—*and fixed it to tractor*

A SWORD and a spear were beaten into a ploughshare and a pruning-hook during a peace conference in Childersburg, Alabama, USA, recently.

Bishop Tomlinson of The Church of God, Jamaica, New York, brought a five-foot sword with him to the conference, beat it into a ploughshare and then fastened it to a tractor and drove the tractor to a local cotton farm.

The conversion was done at an anvil set up under a pine tree in front of the church at Childersburg.

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Christian pacifism and the theologians

WHY DOES THE CHURCH PERMIT ATOM BOMBING?

"IF there is no doubt that, following the teaching of Christ, no Christian could drop or authorise the dropping of an atomb bomb, why does the Church say that in certain circumstances it is right to do so?"

Wallace Hancock asks this question in a new pamphlet on "The Non-Theological Foundations of Christian Pacifism" (Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ. 3d. Obtainable from Peace News).

He finds the basic answer to his question in a comment of William Temple, the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

> "If you look at the New Testament carefully, there can be no doubt that there is a theology of the State as well as of the Church."

In regard to questions of war the theology of the State is predominant for the overwhelming majority of theologians (but not, Wallace Hancock pertinently points out, in regard to questions of marriage law).

This unresolved contradiction in theological thought, the writer points out "ties some of the finest and grandest souls in this and other countries to all the horrors of war;" and his quotation from the letter received from Archbishop Temple will have a special poignancy for the hosts of admirers of that fine man.

Wallace Hancock wrote to him during the period of "Saturation bombing" in the last war when there were "tens of thousands of helpless civilians killed in raid after raid; the terrible effects of phosphorous bombs; stories of people like burning torches rushing about the streets."

In pursuance of his conception of a theology of the state, at variance with the simple teachings of Jesus, William Temple had to answer:

> "I think the balance we need to strike is very difficult, but I am sure that it is our duty to support whatever is necessary for success in the war, provided that such care as is possible is taken to avoid the infliction of quite useless suffering . . . It would not seem right, supposing that we are right to be engaged in this war at all, to do anything which diminishes the effectiveness of our air-arm, just at the time when it is begining to show its superiority. That superiority can unfortunately be exhibited only in greater efficiency of destruction."

Wallace Hancock comments that "the inexorable logic of theology has dried up the springs of mercy and pity where naturally there was such life-giving sweetness and beauty." It had aligned a William Temple with a "Bomber" Harris.

This note is already too long for it is only an 8 pp pamphlet with which it is dealing, but Wallace Hancock has been responsible for such a careful and powerful piece of writing that we hope it will receive wide attention.

Its conclusion is a reminder of what took place among Christians and non-Christians when Dick Sheppard took seriously (and Wallace Hancock would say, untheologically) the declaration of the Lambeth Conference twenty years ago that war is incompatible with the teaching and example of Jesus.

J.A.S.

Let them have it!

By FRANK DAWTRY

"JUVENILE JUSTICE" is a pamphlet published by the Eric A. Wildman Publicity Co., and sent with the compliments of Eric A. Wildman. It is written with a modest anonymity which gives the writer a chance to pay a glowing tribute to the wonderful work of Eric A. Wildman and his devotion to the cause.

The particular cause to which Eric A. Wildman has devoted himself is a nobler cause than most, for its advocates can not be accused of seeking to benefit by the success of their labours.

The cause is no less than the retention of corporal punishment and its return to use in schools and courts, and an end to "the ridiculous mollycoddling of children at home, school and in juvenile and magistrates' courts." Children are not dealt with in magistrates' courts but that is only incidental to the writer of this pamphlet.

It is—he assures us so himself—"written in a calm, unemotional manner which will confound our critics." There are, it is admitted, cranks who do not see reason—these are more to be pitied than blamed. They are not mentioned but no doubt the writer has in mind the members of the House of Commons and of the Lords who both passed *without a division* the law which abolished whipping and flogging as a weapon of the Courts.

The cranks no doubt also include Sir Edward Cadogan and the members of the committee over which he presided, appointed by Sir John (now Lord) Simon when he was Home Secretary, to settle once for all this demand for the removal of flogging.

The committee was so overwhelmed by the evidence it received and the examination of the records of the flogged that it did indeed put an end to the campaign; it recommended unanimously that whipping and flogging should be abolished as they served no useful purpose.

And Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood) did not hesitate to act on their recommendation when in 1938 he introduced his Criminal Justice Bill including a clause which would abolish whipping and flogging. The Bill never became law because of the outbreak of war but it formed the basis of the Act of 1948 which did so abolish corporal punishment.

The Wildman group think this is all rubbish and are very disappointed that a Tory Home Sesretary should disagree with them.

They are also disappointed that the new "tough" detention centre which is one of the experimental ways of dealing with wayward youth without violence, does not include in its treatments the use of corporal punishment.

"Oh, no" they say, "it is strictly forbidden. The boys merely have a nice holiday at the taxpayers' expense at this Oxfordshire country house."

They are blissfully unaware, in their dispassionate calmness, that the so-called country house was a casual ward until put to its present use and that the lads treated there are on the run for about 12 hours a day.

Anyhow, the campaign is now on by this Society for the Retention of Corporal Punishment, not only for a return to the pre-1948 law but even back to the state of affairs 100 years earlier.

And one demand stands out, that corporal punishmen shall be restored not only for boys but for girls.

"Our opponents" they say, "raise their hands in horror at the thought that . . . a girl should touch her toes in the same manner as a schoolboy." and they add the incredible comment that "Perhaps to the pure all things are pure" though what that has to do with it I do not know. Perhaps if the girl is not pure she may not be asked to touch her toes?

★

This organisation (and believe me, dear reader, I'm not making all this up as I go along) is linked up with Corpun Educational Organisation which exists to provide teachers, educational authorities and parents "with carefully selected and manufactured instruments of correction."

"Already" this self advertisement says, "there are 10,000 satisfied customers."

What is more, "Corpun" also runs a unique literary service. I'll bet it does.

It has often been asked of those who would abolish capital punishment, as it used to be asked of those who worked to remove corporal punishment, "What is the case for the other side"? Well, those who oppose the present campaign for the return to whipping could make a much better and more honest and less sickeningly sentimental case than do these public advocates of the whip and the birch and the cane.

This pamphlet and the campaign behind it would be funny were they not so pathetic and the impulse behind them so dangerously near to the pathological.

★

Everyone agrees that for closer understanding between the British and Soviet peoples, it is essential to know the truth about life in the U.S.S.R. and about her international policy.

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(block letters)

Henry Rose at 'The Scrubs'

Henry Rose, whose 3 months' sentence was reported in Peace News last week, is now in H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, W.12 New Year Cards, but not letters, can be sent to him there.

TO END CONSCRIPTION

The No Conscription Council is arranging a special conference to get unity to end conscription at Caxton Hall, Victoria St., S.W.1, on Mon., Feb. 2, at 6.30 p.m. Further information can be obtained from the Secretary, No Conscription Council, Crestfield Street, W.C.1.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Peace News and Vienna

WHILE admiring your paper in many respects and being wholeheartedly in agreement with most of the views put forward, I feel that the attitude Peace News adopts towards the World Peace Council and the Peoples' Congress in Vienna is so self-righteous and prejudiced, and so harmful to the cause of peace, that I hesitate to recommend the paper to my friends, much as I would like to do so.

Whatever its shortcomings, the World Peace Movement remains the hope and inspiration of hundreds of millions of human beings who have suffered most from the horrors of war in the past, and as such should be supported by all men and women of goodwill, whatever their political sympathies may be.

The article by A. J. Muste on November 21 shows such a complete lack of understanding of the realities of the world situation today that it is to be hoped Prof. Joliot-Curie has more important things to do than answer questions which are obviously designed to create prejudice rather than promote peace.

If the people of the Socialist countries are more unanimous in their support of peace movements than we of the West, it is because they have, in their part of the world, removed the social and economic causes that lead to war, and so have freed themselves from the moral degradation that is the lot of those so-called "Christian" nations whose politicians utter pious platitudes while they allow the most unscrupulous section of the community to make financial profit out of the agony of their fellow-men.

Even if there were no other reasons, this one fact alone would give the Communist-led countries the moral leadership of the world today, and to pretend, as A. J. Muste does, that both sides are equally reprehensible, shows how tragically prevalent muddled thinking has become in our decaying society.

If the innumerable little peace movements in this country cannot, at this most critical time in human history, sink their petty differences and unite on the one supreme issue—that of defeating the small but powerful section who have given such abundant proof that they will stop at nothing to preserve their profits and privileges, the outlook for humanity is black indeed.

(Miss) D. M. BENN
Bristol Peace Committee.
5 Alma Road, Bristol 8.

We shall comment on this letter in the next issue.—Ed.

Rector and RAF

I READ Peace News weekly and consider it to be both well-informed and vital in the struggle we are engaged in

In a long interview with the Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich, it seems that while he recognises the legitimacy of the pacifist viewpoint he has little sympathy with it.

He argued that those in the National Services had a primary duty to the State, and that therefore men in the RAF were in duty bound to bomb their fellow men if the State ordered them to, even if Christians.

As far as I am concerned the people of Holbrook are contemplating a petition to the Bishop asking that I should go there. They maintain that the Parochial Church Council who passed a resolution condemning my views is not representative of the main body of the people.

I have had over 100 letters from all over the country fully supporting my viewpoint. There is an increasing number of people who are disquieted at the attitude of the Church towards war. Many urge me to go on proclaiming the pacifism of the Christian Gospel.

I shall do so.

Thanks for your fine paper.

(Rev.) CAMERON P. NEWELL.
St. Peter's Vicarage, Ipswich.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN**, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Wednesday, January 7

STOKE NEWINGTON, N.16: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting Ho., Yoakley Rd., Church St. (73 and 67 bus). Edith Adlam on Korea. PPU and FoR.

THIS MEANS YOU

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary," are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them nor to pacifists. They are open to all. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

Thursday, January 8

HALIFAX: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Clare Rd.; public meeting; Sir Richard Acland, MP—"War on Want"; SoF and FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Saturday, January 10

RUGBY: 3 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Regent Pl.; public mtg.; John Hoyland on "The World Sovereignty of God"; PPU and FoR.

Monday, January 12

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m. Becket House, Lovaine Row; Grigor McClelland on "Russian and China through pacifist eyes"; PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Church Ho., St. James' St., 1; Rev. Donald Streat on South Africa: PPU.

Thursday, January 15

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lnicoln Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Hornman; PPU.

Saturday, January 17

PPU London Area Annual "Get Together" at Westminster Friends' Meeting House. Details later.

Thursday, January 22nd

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lnicoln Inn Fields; Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Hornman; PPU.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

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MARRIAGES

STAUFER—COOPER. Ernst Staufer and Mary Cooper married at Lancaster on November 28, 1952.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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EMRYS HUGHES, MP

LABOUR AND THE VIENNA CONGRESS

THE People's Peace Congress which has been held in Vienna has been dismissed in this country as a Communist stunt.

Even Aneurin Bevan has called it "a fake" and, taking place as it has done after the turning down by the Russians and Chinese of the Indian truce proposals for Korea and the executions of the Communists at Prague, it has been regarded as part of Communist propaganda technique and has not, with the exception of the Manchester Guardian and the Daily Worker, been treated seriously by the British press.

Now it is difficult to deny that the Congress has been held under the auspices of the Communist Governments and that most of the speeches followed the Russian official line and that the Russian Government, far from being a pacifist government, has its own big rearmament programme and huge armed forces raised by conscription which is as drastic or even more so for young Russians than that which prevails in capitalist countries.

They say the same in Russia

If you challenge Russians on this point you will be told that it is purely for the defence of the USSR in almost the identical language that we are so accustomed to hear in the House of Commons during the discussion of our military estimates.

This, however, does not mean that the Russians are dishonest when they talk about peace. At least they are not more dishonest than anybody else. Mr. Bevan declares he is not a pacifist either, and the late Labour Government, Mr. Churchill declares, spent £100,000,000 on developing the atom bomb without telling Parliament about it and there has been no attempt by the leaders of the Labour Party to contradict that.

The huge rearmament programme, too, was sponsored by a Labour Government and accepted by the Labour Party Conference.

On these grounds the Labour Party is classified by Pravda among the warmongers. Because it supports a big rearmament programme, Pravda declares that the British Labour Party's professions of peace are hypocritical.

Yet in all countries there is a universal hatred of war and in organising the Peace Congresses the Russians are doing something which should be taken as a challenge to us all.

If they are "fakes" and "stunts," what is British Labour doing to counteract them with honest peace propaganda of its own?

I heard an orthodox Labour MP say in discussing the Indian speeches at the Vienna Conference that it was the first time a serious attempt had been made to place the Russians on the defensive. And, note, it was not done by us, but by the Indians!

Labour shackled with arms

The world no longer looks to British Labour to lead the way; it does not call any peace conferences because it is so heavily shackled by its advocacy of the huge rearmament programme which even Mr. Churchill and a Tory Government are now engaged in cutting down, because the country cannot support it.

My own view, which is shared by some other MPs, is that the Labour Party made a mistake in banning its members from going to Vienna. Surely it would have been an effective counter to Russian propaganda if British MPs had been there to ask why the Indian Korean proposals had been turned down so summarily, and to argue that Mr. Vishinsky may not always be right in his speeches at UNO.

I am quite sure that if British MP's like Mr. J. H. Hudson and Mr. Fenner Brockway and Mr. Hale had been allowed to go to Vienna they could have put up a British point of view on peace which would have commanded attention and enabled the delegates from the Communist countries to understand that it was not only the Russians who are interested in peace.

If the Congress were just a Communist manoeuvre then it would have been exposed.

Useful contacts

Fortunately the Labour Party did not ban the Moscow Economic Conference held last Easter and some of us were able to go there without risking expulsion from the Labour Party and being thrown into the outer darkness. We listened respectfully to the Communist view and then equally firmly stated ours. Certainly no harm was done and I believe the contact was useful from both points of view.

Reading the fuller reports of the Vienna Congress it is clear that there were some very good and sincere speeches made there, even if the proceedings went according to the Russian plan.

We are perfectly entitled to speak plainly about what we think are mistakes in Russian foreign policy, without assuming that the Russian spokesmen are all frauds and crooks.

What one has to bear in mind is that hundreds of millions throughout the world believe that it is the Russians who are keen about world peace and that we are not.

Why should the Labour Party be so afraid that its members would be contaminated if they met Russians? Why should the peace initiative be allowed to pass to the Russians? Shouldn't we show the world that we are just as keen on peace as the Communists?

Hungarians warned against pacifism

THE pacifist colouring given to the slogan "Work for Peace" is a serious fault in the Hungarian Peace Movement, the Chairman of Hungary's National Peace Council, Academician Endics, warned the Third Peace Congress held last month.

"We must not forget," he said, "the warning words spoken by Comrade Matyas Rakosi (Hungarian Premier):

"'An unarmed country practically invites to provocation and adventures. Pacifism wishes to reduce our defence potential. If pacifism should come to dominate our people that would mean that we have opened the way for the warmongers who would destroy our freedom . . .'

"Our greatest men have fought and bled for centuries for the independence of the Hungarian people," Academician Endics continued. "The Hungarian people will not permit anyone to wrest from their hands the arms defending their freedom and peace and fight against pacifist pipedreams and illusions which serve the interests of the imperialists.

"We follow Comrade Stalin's brilliant counsel: 'The aggressor must be received in full armour'."

Academician Endics is a member of the World Peace Council.

—*Hungarian Bulletin, Budapest.*

FOOTNOTE: The Bishop of Croydon recently attacked pacifism and disarmament as a dangerous dreamland. "Russia would more easily resort to war if she did not know that there was a huge stockpile of atomic bombs in the USA," he said..

SYBIL MORRISON

Let's live and let live

The mortality among New Year resolutions is phenomenal. . . . What is the good of these ineffective promises to God and man? They are born in a moment of emotion . . . but they must live with us, meet our friends, be nourished there, or die . . . they can grow and live only when they are made welcome and at home . . . It is new life rather than new resolutions that we need.
"Some of My Religion"—Dick Sheppard.

THE grouping of the days and nights into weeks and months, culminates, according to the calendar, when the days and nights and weeks which amount to twelve months, have passed.

On December 31, the last of the sands are running out, and we hasten to build up the illusion that between that day and the next there is a break, a drawn line, for by this means we can indulge in the excitement of turning to a new shining clean page, and the thankfulness of a new start.

And so we celebrate each New Year in an entirely different spirit from any other anniversary. Each person, of course, has his own personal anniversary on the day he was born, but few people take this as an occasion for making good resolutions. No, it is the beginning of another year, which induces this concerted leaf-turning.

These resolutions sometimes taken half jokingly, sometimes quite seriously, may involve improvement of our own behaviour, or our work, or even of the world. There are however, alway those who will scoff at the idea of human beings, or human nature making any fundamental change. Those who consistently declare that there have always been wars, and always will be, belong in this category of defeatism.

It is true that the human race has, in its lifetime, established as one of its most pronounced and persistent habits this evil thing called war, but even the worst habits can be broken, not by making useless resolves, but by taking definite action to make the change.

There is, perhaps, something to be said for the practice adopted by many newspapers and periodicals at this time of year, of reviewing events and so to speak, taking stock. Looking back is not necessarily a good thing, since futile regrets are the worst of stumbling blocks to the future, but to note changes which have benefited the world during the passage of years is an encouragement and an incentive.

Many of the pioneers who, in the past, struggled to alter the conditions of their fellows, did not live to see the changes, but changes when they came were, all the same, largely due to their efforts. Many victories against cruelty and tyranny have been won, and won by minorities only; some day the struggle against the tyranny of war will also be won, and in the very forefront of the fight are the pacifists.

To-day the world stands divided, not so much at cross-roads, but on the opposite edges of a bottomless abyss. The bridge over it, which must be based on reconciliation, tolerance and friendship will not bear the weight of the great armaments with which both sides are so intolerably burdened.

Yet those who desire to change this terrible hostility — and there are many — are struggling at the same time with another enemy: fear. To-day all negotiations are based upon threats in order to induce fear, so that fear of infiltration, fear of invasion, fear of defeat has become the driving force. And fear cannot be overcome by atom bombs, napalm or germs, it can only be overcome by friendship, for no one fears a friend.

The question to be answered by the human race to-day is fundamental: "to be, or not to be?" If we are to survive at all it will undoubtedly be necessary to exist alongside of nations and peoples with whose methods and manner of government we do not agree. Just as it is impossible to turn an individual into an entirely different person by the use of force, so it is impossible to alter the attitude and the beliefs of the Russians by the use of force.

It is not necessary to endorse the methods of the Kremlin in order to co-exist with the Russians, but it is necessary, indeed fundamental, to let them know that we intend to live at peace with them.

To spread the message of goodwill without pandering to either side, or blaming one side more than the other, is the work to which pacifists must set their hands. Let this be our New Year resolution.

CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR DISARMAMENT IV

Bringing the arms race to a standstill

In "Security through Disarmament*" the American Friends' Service Committee have published in pamphlet form a detailed and factual analysis of the problem of disarmament and a survey of the negotiations that have already taken place.

In the last of four articles, Olwen Battersby summarises the concrete proposals put forward by the Committee for ending the deadlock.

THIS section of the report opens with a list of ten principles and assumptions on which it is believed that proposals for agreement should be based.

Since armaments are both a symptom and a contributing cause of international tensions they consider that conventional arms should be drastically reduced: that further expansion of arms production should cease; and that weapons of mass destruction should be banned. For this, mutual concessions are required from both parties. There should be a single inclusive system of international inspection and control, with adequate safeguards, in the planning and establishment of which all nations with substantial military potential should participate. Disarmament agreements, and the work of the control organ, should be carried out within the framework of the United Nations.

Lastly, and perhaps most important, they stress the view that disarmament should begin at once.

Proposals

The Committee consider that there should be established within the framework of the Security Council an international control organ, staffed with impartial personnel drawn from many countries but accountable only to the control organ, who should have authority to inspect armaments, armed forces, and all supporting facilities and installations.

This proposal appears to be acceptable to all parties.

Turning, however, to one of the main points of disagreement, the report states:

"It would seem wise to abandon the idea of international ownership and management of the world's "dangerous" atomic facilities, except, perhaps, as the Carnegie Endowment committee has suggested, where nations may elect to place their atomic industries under international trust."

Future production they consider should be restricted to quotas defined in appropriate treaties, with the understanding that permissible production would be subject to the strictest possible accounting and inspection.

The acceptance of this plan, they realise, requires an important concession on the part of the United States:

"The United States has been the chief proponent of international ownership of atomic facilities, and adoption of the above proposal would require her to yield this point. To do so promptly, we believe, would contribute more to reaching agreement on the total problem of disarmament than any other concession the United States may reasonably be expected to make."

The existence of large stockpiles of fissionable materials presents a difficult problem in disarmament planning.

For though potentially valuable at some future time for atomic power, this material need only be placed in atomic bomb cases to render a "peaceful" stockpile a tremendous arsenal for war.

The report makes two proposals for dealing with this problem:

(1) That at considerable expense it should be transmuted into a non-explosive form which might still be used for peaceful purposes; and

(2) That an international depository should be set up under multi-national guards in neutral territory, say, in Eastern Greenland.

Inspection

The report makes somewhat detailed suggestions concerning inspection, which should be "permanent" and "continuous." "Our proposal," they state,

"would urge the United States to continue emphasising the need for inspection of anything the control organ decides, at any time and any place, but would require her to yield the point of international ownership and management. From the Soviet Union our proposal would require a willingness to permit the continuing observation of critical spots and freedom to inspect anything the control organ decides, at any time, and any place."

The Veto

The committee propose that the veto should not be waived in the Security Council when considering the application of sanctions, as first proposed by Bernard Baruch, but that the control organ should make day to day decisions by majority vote.

Thus the control organ would decide by majority vote when, what, and how to inspect, and whether or not violations occur.

If serious violations are established and reported, the Security Council would deal with threats to, or breaches of, the peace as normally—that is, with the veto operating as anticipated by the Charter.

Schedule of arms reduction

The report here recommends in some detail a plan for arms reduction.

Stage 1. Immediate repudiation of the use (but not yet the production and possession) of atomic weapons of mass destruction;

Stage 2. A standstill agreement which would halt the arms race;

Stage 3. The determination of limits and quotas to govern both drastic reduction of conventional arms and the disposal of existing stockpiles of fissionable materials;

Stage 4. A complete ban on atomic weapons including production and possession of them.

This final stage would be put into effect not later than two years after the first stage goes into effect. The plan, it points out, would also fix target dates, and so discourage stalling.

Commenting on the likeliness of acceptance for this plan, the report says:

"As matters now stand the Soviet Union has agreed to simultaneous banning of atomic weapons, instituting controls, and reducing conventional arms and armed forces by one third. The United States insists on proceeding cautiously from disclosure and verification to the outlawry of atomic weapons and the balanced reduction of conventional arms and armed forces. Adoption of our proposal would require concessions from both blocs."

Criteria for arms reduction

On this problem the report states:

"It appears necessary to reach agreement on a principle of progressive limitation and balanced reduction of conventional arms, facilities and armed forces, providing the reduction would be drastic."

The United States has suggested two criteria to be used in calculating limits and quotas: population (for armed forces), and gross national product (for military budgets).

But care must be taken, it points out, that no factor is made use of for strategic advantage of any nation or bloc of nations.

For example nations with larger populations but less national product might be deprived of their population advantage by inability to support a larger army on its percentage of national product. It is important to bear in mind that there are a large variety of factors applicable to the problem of establishing fair criteria.

On this point the report states:

"The United States has urged progressive limitation and balanced reduction of armaments, and has suggested the criteria used in this discussion. The Soviet Union on the other hand has urged a flat reduction of one third the first year. Adoption of our proposal would require greater concessions from the Soviet Union."

To conclude, the Committee points out that the major problems facing the United Nations, including the basic needs of millions for whom the real enemy is hunger and lack of opportunity, are bound up with, and rendered more insoluble by armaments. It is for this reason, as well as for religious and moral reasons, that they state:

"We believe mankind's next step is to disarm, and that the time of disarmament is NOW."

* *Obtainable in Britain from Housmans Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. 2s.*

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